

Social Democrats

The 1984 Elections

A CHALLENGE TO THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY



**Policy Statement Adopted
by Social Democrats, USA**

The challenge to the Democratic Party in the 1984 campaign will be whether the Democrats can retain their present strength among black and liberal voters while regaining the labor, white ethnic, Southern and moderate swing voters who have too often deserted the Party in elections of the past decade.

The failure of the Reagan Administration's economic program confronts the Democrats both with an opportunity and an urgent moral challenge. Whatever the fashionable economic prognosticators may say about the prospects for an economic recovery, there is every sign that this recovery will be weak—even by the gross measures of national economic activity.

More important, the direction of our economy offers very small hope to the poor, the hard-hit workers of America's construction, auto, steel, and other basic industries, or to regions and communities which are being devastated by profound structural changes in our economy. Those in these particular sectors of our society are likely to be as badly off in November of 1984 as they are today. Not coincidentally, they also include many of the groups which, although once staunchly Democratic, have been deeply disenchanted by a decade and more of neglect by the Party's national leadership.

The Democratic Party must demonstrate its intention to pursue a long-term industrial policy which will enable the United States to make the transition into an era of sophisticated industrial technology and a full engagement in the international marketplace. But such a policy must also assure that this change is accomplished without the economic damage to the have-nots and have-littles that is sure to result if it is carried out by the corporate and financial speculators who dominate in the Reagan Administration. Such a policy of economic reconstruction should be the centerpiece of the 1984 Democratic campaign platform.

Some elements of this policy must be:

- 1) The establishment of a federally-sup-

ported industrial development program through which, in consultation with labor, business, and community leaders, financing can be obtained for the modernization of America's basic industries.

- 2) Government investment in the repair and improvement of the productive infrastructure of our economy: roads, bridges, ports, railways, waterways, utilities, etc.
- 3) Increased federal support to education and manpower training (and retraining), with added emphasis on science, mathematics, and the advanced technological skills which are even now in short supply.
- 4) Federal insistence on fair international trade: American markets should be open only to those who permit us altogether equal access to their markets.
- 5) No more public assistance to U.S. bankers and international investors seeking exploitative profits by investing in third world or communist countries.
- 6) A renewed commitment to provide the income assistance and social services necessary for the security, health, and dignity of America's aged, poor, and disabled. While not every social program that we have attempted has proved successful, many did succeed. Those that did not should be replaced with programs which attempt to use what wisdom we have gained to do better—not with cynicism. As even George Will has argued, our society is by no means strained by the care and assistance it provides to its needy.
- 7) Opposition to the Republican laissez faire social philosophy, including the indiscriminate deregulation of business activity in areas vital to our economy and the protection of our environment.
- 8) Finally, America needs jobs. All the principles listed above, if incorporated into public policy, will help create jobs. But we need more: the policy of the United States

must be that no able-bodied citizen who wants work will be forced into unemployment. This policy will not be an easy one to carry out. But the object is not perfection—just a solid effort. Instead, the Republican Administration treats massive, serious, and continuing unemployment with an amiable indifference.

For a time, the Democratic Party showed healthy signs of progress towards the development of a sound economic program, and a political strategy that would build support for that program. There are now reasons to fear that the Democrats are letting this potential slip away.

In the past few months, certain Democratic Presidential candidates and Congressional leaders have returned to an emphasis on the kinds of foreign policy positions that cost the Democrats so heavily in 1972—policies identified with an erosion of American influence in the world.

There are grounds for debate about President Reagan's defense and nuclear strategies, or about the Administration's policy in Central America, or Southern Africa. But the drumbeat that is being pounded out today by some Democrats—and by a vast amplification system of publicists and activists which supports them—is that foreign policy should be the Party's main issue. Moreover, the positions those people advance are so one-sidedly critical of the United States and so naively forgiving of the Soviet Union and its friends that they are bound to inspire a democratic and patriotic backlash. If present trends continue, the current media celebration of Reagan's foreign policy weakness is likely to prove precisely wrong: the President will overcome his domestic failures by riding to a second term on a wave of public revulsion against Congressional doves who seem to believe that nothing could be worse than to allow a democracy to remain a superpower.

The veterans of the New Left are also attempting to bring back to life the separatist spirit of the "Black Power" movement of the 1960's. It is notable that strategies for a black candidacy focusing on an exclusively black agenda have provoked opposition among black leaders in the NAACP, the Urban League, the Joint Center for Political Studies, and elsewhere.

In sum: The Democratic Party seems to again be headed toward a period of tension between the New Left and the liberal mainstream. In the past, the latter have failed through lack of cohesion and leadership. This time, however, there is a force which possibly could fill that void: the AFL-CIO.

The AFL-CIO has spent the last two years establishing itself in the Party, and mending fences damaged in past quarrels with the Democratic Party's "Left." If the above assessment is correct, however, it will soon find itself faced with a need to resist the ideological and organizational resurgence of the "Left."

So far, the only voices that have been raised even obliquely against the so-called Left are those of the Party's "Southern" wing. Their message, while useful in some respects, is undermined by their conservative, anti-labor approach.

The strategy for Social Democrats in this situation is threefold:

- 1) Work to develop serious, long-term legislative and policy proposals for strengthening the American economy and creating jobs.
- 2) Work with labor's political machinery to maximize labor representation in the nomination process, and to press other Democrats to recognize the need to rebuild the Party's working class base.
- 3) Campaign against the continuing influence of the "Left" in the Party, in particular its sympathy or tolerance for totalitarian and terrorist forces on the international scene.

Social Democrats, USA
June 1983
Bayard Rustin, National Chairman
Rita Freedman, Executive Director

Social Democrats, USA believes that democracy is the cornerstone of building a more just society. We believe that the struggle for economic and social justice at home is indivisible from the struggle for freedom and human rights abroad. We strive to extend democracy to all spheres of public life—political, social and economic.

Please send me more information on Social Democrats USA.
 I want to join Social Democrats, USA.
 I want to contribute to the work of SDUSA. Enclosed is \$

Name

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Social Democrats, USA
275 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York 10001

NATIONAL CONVENTION OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, USA

November 21-23, 1980/New York Statler/New York City

Program Highlights:

BAYARD RUSTIN, Social Democrats and International Human Rights
Chairman, Social Democrats, USA

SOL CHAIKIN, Labor in the Post Election Period
President, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

WILLIAM JULIUS WILSON, Black Inequality
Chairman, Sociology Department,
University of Chicago

WALTER GALENSEN, Reindustrialization and the American Economy
Jacob Gould Schurman Professor of Economics,
Cornell University

TOM KAHN, The Social Democratic Perspective
Assistant to the President, AFL-CIO

CARL GERSHMAN, The International Crisis
National Vice Chairman, Social Democrats, USA

Convention Dinner honoring **LEO CHERNE**,
President, International Rescue Committee



Convention sessions and the Leo Cherne Dinner are open to members and non-members.

- I would like to be an observer at the National Convention of Social Democrats, USA. Enclosed is my registration fee of \$5.00 (\$3.00 for students).
- I would like to attend the Leo Cherne Dinner on Friday, November 21 at 6:00 P.M. Enclosed is \$40 (\$25 for SD members).
- I am interested in attending the National Convention of Social Democrats, USA. Please send me further information.

Please make checks payable to Social Democrats, USA.



Clip and mail to: Social Democrats, USA, 275 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York 10001, Phone: (212) 255-1390

Social Democrats, USA
National Committee
January 31, 1981

Agenda

10:00 - 10:30 A.M.	I.	Executive Director's Report
10:30 - 10:45 A.M.	II.	Debs Dinner Report
10:45 - 11:00 A.M..	III.	Socialist International
11:00 - 12:15 P.M.	IV.	El Salvador: A discussion introduced by Mary Temple
12:15 - 12:30 P.M.	V.	Resolution on the Status of Puerto Rico
12:30 - 12:45 P.M.	VI.	Young Social Democrats Report
12:45 - 2:00 P.M.		Lunch Recess
2:00 - 2:15 P.M.	VII.	Report of the Finance Committee on Dues Increase
2:15 - 2:30 P.M.	VIII.	New America Report
2:30 - 2:45 P.M.	IX.	Resolution on South Africa
2:45 - 3:00 P.M.	X.	Resolution on South Korea
3:00 - 3:15 P.M.	XI.	Report on the Organizational Conference
3:15 - 5:00 P.M.	XII.	The Democratic Party, the Reagan Administration, and the SD: A discussion introduced by Penn Kemble and Dick Wilson
5:00 P.M.		Adjournment

Resolution on South Africa

Submitted by Karl Toth

Apartheid in South Africa is an odious system which denies basic rights to the millions of South Africans who are non-white. Moreover, the perpetuation of white minority rule will ultimately lead to violent upheaval and chaos, while encouraging the rise of non-democratic elements in that country's black community and increasing Soviet influence in the area. Political stability and human justice can only be achieved by thoroughgoing policies of full racial equality. It is thus in the interest of Americans to put pressure on the South African government to initiate a process of transition to democratic, majority rule. Our policies should not be influenced by those who, for racial or economic reasons, have a stake in the South African status quo.

In the past few years there have been some minimally hopeful signs that the white Afrikaner leadership is beginning to recognize the necessity for change and reform. Some Afrikaners have come to understand how totally bankrupt is the black homelands policy. The fact is that millions of blacks are now working in white South African industry, many in formerly whites-only jobs. These changes are due to the increasing need for skilled black labor in the South African economy.

For Social Democrats, one of the most important developments in recent years has been the emergence of black labor unions. Such unions can serve as the best vehicle for spurring peaceful democratic transition to a racially integrated South African society.

As a result of the rise of the black labor movement and the growing worker unrest, the government has been forced to grant a few minor concessions to black workers. For example, the government has given black workers the legal right to form and join unions. But black unions still do not have the right to strike, engage in political activity, or engage in true collective bargaining. The labor laws also distinguish between black urban residents, who are eligible for union rights, and black migrant workers from the so-called "homelands," who are not.

However, the recent government reforms have not fundamentally changed the existing racist system. Blacks are still denied basic democratic rights.

In South Africa, America must do all it can to encourage the peaceful and democratic transition to majority rule. The U.S. government must require all American corporations operating in South Africa to recognize and bargain with black trade unions and begin treating their employees on an equal basis.

The S.D. supports all efforts to aid the black unions and other democratic forces for freedom in their struggle to win human rights.

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Resolution on the Status of Puerto Rico

Submitted by Rita Freedman

The question of independence for Puerto Rico is one that has taken on added significance in recent years. It has frequently been raised in international forums, particularly the United Nations, often with the encouragement of Cuba. And despite consistent and overwhelming support by the Puerto Rican people for a continued relationship with the United States, many non-Puerto Ricans, particularly those who either see the cause as fashionable or see it as a vehicle to label United States policies as imperialistic, have clamored for the island's independence.

Since its colonization by Spain, Puerto Rico has wrestled with what it calls the "status question." Possible options have included autonomy, commonwealth, independence, and statehood.

After initially avoiding the issue, the Popular Democratic Party (the PPD), founded by Luis Munoz Marin, made commonwealth its proposed solution to the status question in 1948. Partly because of this, the PPD won the election that year by an overwhelming majority. In a decisive vote that followed, Puerto Ricans adopted a new constitution and ratified the commonwealth status. The United Nations subsequently ruled that since the relations embodied in the compact could not be unilaterally amended, Puerto Rico was no longer a non-self-governing territory and the United States therefore no longer had to submit annual reports as a colonial power.

Since that time, Puerto Ricans have consistently expressed their preference for either a continued, if evolving, commonwealth relation or, more recently, for statehood. Independence has consistently received little support. In a 1967 plebiscite, independence received 0.6 per cent of the total, compared with 60 per cent for commonwealth and 39 per cent for statehood.

The main independence party, the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP), currently headed by Ruben Berrios, received a scant 3 per cent or less of the votes in the elections of 1960, 1964 and 1968. Because of a sharp economic downturn, the PIP was expected to significantly enhance its positions in the 1976 elections: it nevertheless polled only 5 per cent. (The pro-independence Socialist Party, which despite its name is a communist party, received less than 1 per cent.)

During his current term of office, Governor Carlos Romero Barcelo, a statehood advocate, promised that if he won by a wide margin in 1980, he would hold a new plebiscite and if statehood won a majority, he would formally petition Congress to make Puerto Rico the 51st state. However, the November 4, 1980 gubernatorial elections produced a virtual tie between Barcelo and the candidate supporting continued commonwealth status, former Governor Rafael Hernandez Colon. With a mere 1,723 votes out of over one-and-a-half million separating the two main candidates, the winner will not be decided until all absentee ballots are counted and all challenges to votes are resolved.

Concern over unemployment, crime, taxes, alleged corruption in government, and the State Department's decision to send Cuban and Haitian refugees to Puerto Rico figured in the choices made by the electorate. Therefore, this election cannot be considered a plebiscite on status. Nonetheless, it is clear that independence is not viewed as the solution by Puerto Ricans. Well over 90 per cent of the voters for the sixth straight time favored a permanent union (either statehood or commonwealth) with the United States.

Puerto Rico is a clear case where national status should be determined by the will of the people as reflected by democratic elections. If the Puerto Rican people indicate a desire for independence, we in Social Democrats, USA will support it. Likewise, if they indicate a desire for statehood or commonwealth, we will support that decision rather than impose our conception of what Puerto Ricans really want. To reject such a solution in favor of a position clearly not the choice of the people is to repudiate the democratic process itself.

We in Social Democrats, USA support the choice of the Puerto Rican people, as expressed through democratic elections, in the decision of their political relationship with the United States.

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Resolution on Korea

Submitted by George Curtin

The sudden death of former President Park Chung-hee at the hands of his own KCIA Director in October 1979 provided a unique opportunity for the Korean people to begin the process of developing a more democratic political system in keeping with the remarkable economic progress they have experienced in the past decade.

Indeed, throughout the early months of 1980 it appeared as if the authoritarian Yushin system established by President Park would be dismantled in favor of a more democratic political structure. Leaders within the two major political alignments, the Democratic Republican Party and the New Democratic Party, were jockeying for political position in hopes of winning their party's nomination in the promised elections. New constitutional reforms were being proposed to ensure democratic procedures would be protected in the future. Labor leaders were publicly demanding that the three basic labor rights of collective action, organization, and bargaining be restored and that workers have the right to participate in political activities through their own organizations.

Yet, as suddenly as Korea's political spring had begun, it was ended with the ascension to power of a small group of military leaders unwilling to allow the uncertainties of democracy to threaten their own positions of power within Korean society.

The political crackdown that has ensued has led to the disbandment of all political parties, the trial, and sentencing to death of Korea's leading opposition political figure, Kim Dae-jung, and the purging of literally thousands of opponents, as well as religious and labor leaders throughout Korea.

Particularly hard hit was the evolving trade union movement. Twelve of the seventeen national union presidents were dismissed and hundreds of local leaders were purged from their positions. The government has embarked on a reorganization campaign designed to emasculate the power of the union movement by disbanding almost all of the unions' regional organizations and banning the participation in collective bargaining by the national union centers as well as the central labor bodies represented by the Korean Federation of Trade Unions.

Without the strength derived from numbers, the myriad of small and scattered union locals cannot hope to provide the bargaining clout so essential in providing even a minimum of trade union services and protection for the over one million Korean union members.

Despite the enormous economic strides of recent years, fully one-half of Korea's workers earn less than \$160 per month in wages while working an average 60 hours per week. Welfare services such as unemployment insurance, social security, and workers' compensation are almost nonexistent.

Without even the most elementary of civil and political rights, it is unlikely that Korea's workers will soon share in the fruits of the "Korean Economic Miracle." Ironically, it is this very economic progress that has made the development of a more tolerant and democratic political system not only possible, but necessary if Korea is to avoid a future of social unrest and instability.

Social Democrats USA urges the U.S. government to take appropriate action to restore the credibility of its human rights policies by demanding the restoration of human and political rights that have been abrogated by the South Korean military and martial law authorities. At the same time, we recognize that South Korea faces a continued military threat from the communist North Korean government, a totalitarian regime far more oppressive than South Korea's. Given this constant military danger, we continue to support the presence of American troops in South Korea, a presence which has proved an effective guarantee of peace in the peninsula for the past 26 years.

We support the AFL-CIO in its demand that the government initiate talks with the military regime of South Korea aimed at protecting the fundamental trade union rights of Korea's workers.

In the event that the South Korean military junta proves unwilling to recognize its human rights responsibilities as defined by international law and practice, we urge the United States government to apply economic and political sanctions short of endangering the military security of the Korean peninsula but sufficient to impress the current government in Seoul that its relations with traditionally friendly nations and allies cannot but be affected by its continued policies of repression.

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NOTES

NATIONAL OFFICE June 1981
275 Seventh Avenue / 25th Floor / New York, N.Y. 10001 / Volume X, Number 5

LETTERS URGENTLY NEEDED

Secretary of Labor Raymond Donovan has proposed a retrogressive change in the industrial homework regulations that threaten to revive working conditions that existed in the heyday of the sweatshop. While proposing cuts in the Labor Department's enforcement staff, Donovan is simultaneously calling for lifting of the ban on homework in key areas of the apparel industry. The S.D. National Committee adopted a resolution condemning the proposal.

Letters protesting Donovan's action should be sent to:

1) Henry T. White, Jr.
Wage and Hour Division
Employment Standards Administration
Room S - 3502
U.S. Dept. of Labor
200 Constitution Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20210

and 2) Labor Standards Subcommittee
Room 518
House Office Building
Annex #1
Washington, D.C. 20515
Attn: Michael Goldberg, Esq.

Letters or telegrams to the Department of Labor must be sent in duplicate. Those sent to the Labor Standards Subcommittee should specifically request to be made part of the record of the hearings conducted by the subcommittee on industrial homework. Blind copies should be sent to the ILGWU, 1710 Broadway, New York 10019, and to the N.O.

Protests from non-labor organizations (e.g. consumer, community action, religious, ethnic, women's, educational groups, etc.) would be most helpful. Time is short before a decision is made, but it appears as if protests on this issue will make a decisive impact.

Rustin in Poland

SD National Chairman Bayard Rustin was recently in Poland as the guest of Solidarity. SD'er Adrian Karatnycky, who is the Research Director

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of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and the Executive Director of the Sakharov Defense Campaign, accompanied him as his translator. Both Bayard and Adrian reported on their findings to the last National Committee meeting.

Poles that they met constantly spoke of a "renewal," a revolt against the entire society. They are determined to alter the course of the entire life of Poland, economically, socially, politically and every other way, while being totally aware of the geo-political situation in which they find themselves. And, in fact, a revolution has already occurred in Poland, although it is being called a "masked" revolution since what has explicitly occurred cannot be stated openly. "Nothing concerning us without us," is the slogan, and Poles, who already must have one member of the family on lines in the streets for five hours each day to buy basic necessities, say they are prepared to sacrifice even more if that is the way to freedom.

The leadership of Solidarity is almost all younger than 35 years old, a generation that did not live through the Stalinist period and is therefore not as hesitant to take risks as their parents. No one appears to be anxious about the possibility of Soviet troops marching in. Their total concentration is not on the Soviet Union, but on their own strategy and tactics, with which they hope to keep the situation in balance.

Currently, there are three emerging points of view or tendencies within Solidarity, each with serious support in the leadership. One is the democratic Marxist tendency that argues that the factory should be the basic unit of social, economic and political organization. The second is the "closet" Christian Democrats who feel that Solidarity should limit itself to traditional trade union issues. In between, there is the broadly based social democratic group that argues that a pluralistic system, with contending institutions, would be less susceptible to totalitarianism, but disagrees that Solidarity should be concerned solely with "unionism pure and simple."

The first tendency pushes the hardest in strike situations. They had the most influence in the first generation of Solidarity leadership. But since many in this group are very young and inexperienced in administrative matters, some will probably be replaced in the upcoming regional elections as Solidarity becomes more established and therefore more involved in administrative functions. (Solidarity has won the right for check-off, and three-quarters of all workers are estimated to be members.)

It must be pointed out that none of these tendencies is willing to rock the boat at this juncture, and there is a great deal of unanimity among all of them. All essentially agree on four basic principles around which Solidarity should be based: the best in Christianity, the best in democracy, the best in socialism, and the best in egalitarianism.

Press coverage surrounding the threatened general strike was misleading on this point. None of these tendencies wanted a general strike. There was just a feeling among some that Lech Walesa was not being meticulous enough in democratically arriving at a decision against a strike, decision that everyone wanted.

While we all fear that such words of hope written today could mock us

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tomorrow should the Soviets decide to act, it is equally true that the unprecedented set of circumstances, social ingredients and institutions that have emerged in Poland could produce an unprecedented result.

Socialist International

Socialist International leaders recently met in Amsterdam to discuss a two-point agenda: East-West relations and El Salvador. Before the meeting, SI Chairman Willy Brandt sent Hans-Jurgen Wischnewski, German SPD deputy chairman and troubleshooter for Brandt, to Central America and the Caribbean to see what he could do to mediate a political solution in El Salvador. The trip included a visit with Fidel Castro, during which the Cuban leader confirmed that he had been sending guns to the Salvadoran guerrillas, and would not promise to halt such shipments. Reports are that Wischnewski felt somewhat betrayed when he learned first-hand that the guerrilla groups might in fact not accept a negotiated settlement except as a delaying tactic.

Willy Brandt has called on European Christian Democrats to join with the SI in pressing for a political solution. Canada's Ed Broadbent, of the New Democratic Party, was sent as the latest SI emissary, but his attempts have proven to be as fruitless as prior ones.

At a press conference in Amsterdam, Guillermo Ungo, head of the Salvadoran Social Democratic Party and of the so-called Democratic Revolutionary Front, rejected the elections promised by the Duarte government, claiming they would "be held in graveyards." In an interview with a Dutch newspaper, he said that a political solution is possible only if the United States stops backing the ruling junta, and that sooner or later, Washington will be forced to do so.

Incidentally, you may have seen the New York Times report on the SI conference that had Ron Dellums, Ted Kennedy and George McGovern at the Amsterdam conclave. This is one more lesson in not believing everything you read. The Times sent their European wine expert to cover the story. Despite the fact that he did not see any of the above at the SI meeting, he proceeded to report that they were there. Apparently what happened was that he somehow confused in his mind the DSOC Eurosocialism conference held in Washington, D.C. and the Socialist International meeting held in Amsterdam. So much for the paper of record!

On the Left

At the fifth national convention of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee held May 22-25 in Philadelphia, there were two major areas of controversy. The first had to do with the proposed merger between DSOC and the New American movement. A group calling itself Mainstream had been formed within DSOC to oppose the merger. Citing a list of fundamental differences between the two organizations that made merger inappropriate, Mainstream collected over 100 signatures of prominent, active DSOC'ers who agreed that the merger would be a mistake.

The points of disagreement raised by Mainstream were far-ranging. They included questions of tactics, focusing on Mainstream versus fringe

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politics. (From the Mainstream newsletter: "We have worked hard over the last seven years to develop an image of a sane, socialist organization acting within the mainstream of American political life;...Why jeopardize seven years of work for this merger?") On the domestic scene, the anti-merger group focused on the question of electoral politics. NAM is still debating the efficacy of electoral politics in general and work with and within the Democratic Party in particular. According to the NAM national secretary, 20 per cent of NAM members have the same electoral politics perspective as does 80 per cent of the DSOC membership. (Again quoting from the Mainstream group: "Those elements in NAM which support democracy and electoral politics -- and when we speak of 'elements' in NAM, we may be talking only double digits -- are likely to join DSOC in any event, without the trouble and conflict that results from merger.")

Most of the disagreement focused on NAM's foreign policy. NAM officially sees itself as "part of the international socialist movement whose principal enemy is American corporate capitalism." Thus, it supports national liberation movements against American imperialism and "will support, and learn from, the positive accomplishments of existing socialist states." For NAM, the Soviet Union is "a form of socialist country," a main force, with other Communist countries, in supporting the struggle against imperialism and "one of the great forces of liberation and advancement in history."

The U.S. is by far a greater danger to the world than is the Soviet Union. Therefore, one must be ever-vigilant that anti-Communism not contribute to the whipping up of a new cold war. And the U.S. should cut its military budget with or without corresponding cuts in Soviet military spending.

Cuba, in NAM's eyes, "continues to remain a beacon of revolutionary hope," and Vietnam is seen as "determined to construct a humane society." NAM welcomed the coming to power of the Khmer Rouge and defended the evacuation of Phnom Penh.

On Afghanistan, NAM waffled. While condemning the intervention (not "invasion") and calling for a withdrawal of Soviet troops, NAM condemned "with equal vigor the militaristic response of the United States" and opposed the use of the intervention as a pretext for a new cold war. Moreover, according to NAM, the Soviet intervention took place in the context of American remilitarization and of U.S., Iranian, Pakistani and Chinese aid to the socially reactionary rebels. NAM regrets that the progressive aims of the Afghan government have "become identified with foreign military occupation, which has made it much easier for the right-wing rebels to mobilize support for their cause."

NAM has voiced the opinion that a merged NAM-DSOC should leave the Socialist International for one year in order to reconsider its membership in that rather conservative body. It should be noted, however, that NAM does feel the SI is improving. After all, it has opened up to the PLO. NAM itself supports the PLO and opposes the Camp David Accords as well as continues U.S. military aid to Israel. This follows from NAM's analysis that the core of the Middle East conflict is "Israel's denial of Palestinian national self-determination."

The indictment by the Mainstream group was impressive. Yet, when

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it came to the convention vote of merger, the tally was 163 in favor, 0 against, with 26 abstentions. For the nearly meatless bone thrown to them in the form of an amendment that strengthened the statement in support of Israel, the Mainstream group folded its tail between its legs and gave up the fight. They decided to abstain on the vote, dissolve as a faction, and follow a wait-and-see attitude.

The other area of contention at the convention revolved around the role of the Vice-chairs. In what appears to have been part of the continued erosion of influence of the old SP'ers in DSOC by the left-wing, vice-chairmen were stripped of voting power on the National Executive Committee. As a result of this decision, Ruth Jordan, Deborah Meier and Carl Shier decided not to run for re-election as vice chairmen.

Here and There

Two new organizations with SD'ers in prominent positions, the Citizens Committee for Freedom in the Americas and the Institute on Religion and Democracy, have become involved in the debate on El Salvador. At a joint-press conference in Washington, D.C. they announced their program to build support for the centrist forces in El Salvador and to bring out the activities of groups in the United States that endorse the Salvadoran revolutionary movement. They have started to circulate a statement in favor of a democratic solution in El Salvador that opposes both the extreme left and the extreme right and that pledges to "assist the U.S. religious community to hear all sides of the argument before becoming involved in the campaign to legitimize the FDR" (the so-called Democratic Revolutionary Front). This is to be combined with a campaign to stop religious funds from going to support the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) and the Salvadoran Ecumenical Association for Humanitarian Action and Service (both of which may have been created by the FDR to channel funds to the guerrillas).

Journalist and political analyst Constantine Menges recently spoke, under SD sponsorship, on events in El Salvador and Nicaragua at both Georgetown and the University of Maryland. He developed the thesis that the Communists in Central America now appear to be in favor of a mixed economy, allowing the capitalists to fund the private sector (at least temporarily) as long as they maintain complete political control.

SD'ers Sam Friedman, Israel Breslow, Benjamin Gebiner, Will Stern and Maurice Petrushka spoke at the annual Der Wecker luncheon of the Jewish Socialist Verbund. Local New York held a meeting on the New Right; SD National Committee members Irwin Suall and Al Glotzer led the discussion. The San Francisco Bay local hosted a meeting on Reaganomics - A Closer Look, at which Dr. Betty Gibson, professor of economics at the University of San Francisco spoke. The local also arranged to have the Institute of Industrial Relations show "Robotnicy '80," a 90 minute film on the Gdansk negotiations.

Arch Puddington, editor of New America and LID Executive Director, had a rough row to hoe when he was asked to speak on the Barry Gray radio program on U.S.-Soviet Relations. William Van den Heuvel stood in for Gray as the moderator, and the other participants were Harrison Salisbury and Steven Cohen of Princeton University. The reason Arch's task was so difficult was that it was a case of three against one. The moderator decided to join Salisbury and Cohen in a position that was, shall we say, not totally unsympathetic to the

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Soviet Union. Having been trained well in the movement, however, Arch did not let such a minor matter deter him and, we are happy to report, he more than held his own.

Bits and Pieces

Reagan's budget axe has hit very close to home. The A. Philip Randolph Institute's Youth Employment Program (YEP), which placed over 2,500 young blacks into jobs in the private sector in the two years of its operation, was completely eliminated. As APRI president Norm Hill said in a story in the Washington Post: "This, one would think, is precisely the kind of approach the Reagan administration should be encouraging if it is honestly committed to including blacks in the private sector. The Institute for Educational Affairs (of which conservative Irving Kristol is the vice-chairman) called YEP a "refreshing alternative" to other youth employment programs that have pie-in-the-sky goals and built-in inefficiency. Even conservatives Jesse Helms and Sonny Montgomery (15 per cent COPE and 85 per cent Americans for Conservative Action ratings) went to bat for the program, but to no avail.

Something which no administration can destroy is the legacy of A. Philip Randolph. To honor him and his work, APRI has established an A. Philip Randolph Memorial Fund to ensure that the organization which bears his name is able to successfully sustain and expand its work in the struggle for social justice. Contributions to the fund can be sent to 260 Park Avenue South, New York, New York 10010.

Congratulations to SD'er Emma Deeble, an Associate with New York State COPE, who was honored by the Black Trade Unionists Leadership Committee for her contributions to the labor movement. Best wishes to Alex Wollof who recently retired as the Jewish Labor Committee's Philadelphia area director. Active all his life in labor, democratic socialist circles, civil rights and the Jewish community, Alex was JLC area director and the coordinator of the JOINT organization activities of the JLC and the Negro Trade Union Leadership Council since mid-1962. Coming in from Chicago to become the new Philadelphia director is SD'er Mike Perry.

We're sure that in his so-called retirement, Alex will turn out to be as busy as another "retired" SD'er, former president of the Steelworkers, I.W. Abel. Newsweek recently carried a story on the work Abel is doing to organize the Union Club, an activist group of other retired union men in Sun City, Arizona. The work of the group goes from helping retirees plan their budgets to lobbying the state legislature (successfully) to abolish the sales tax on food. Right now, the Club is working on getting the state to declare the first \$10,000 of a retiree's pension exempt from income tax. Needless to say, the rather conservative community of 45,000 retirees, many of whom were once boardroom executives, is not entirely pleased. A former Union Pacific Company vice president, who now heads the local Homeowners Association, told "Abe" to play golf and "stop trying to save the world." Abel's reply: "I hear it all the time. Unions are OK back East, where industry is, but you come out here to have fun and that's it. Old folks are not supposed to think, just to grow old." It just goes to show that you can't keep a good organizer down.

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Stop the AWACS

The Youth Institute for Peace in the Middle East has started an educational campaign designed to stop the sale of AWACS to Saudi Arabia. As part of this program, it has stickers and tee-shirts for sale. If you would like some for yourself, would like to contribute money so that a campus contact can receive the materials, or know of an organization that could use them, contact Jeff Ballinger, YIPME, 275 7th Avenue, 25th floor, New York, N.Y. 10001, (212) 255-5558.

Thought for the Day

At a workshop on Poland at the DSOC convention, Bogdan Denitch, former SP'er and now head of the left-wing caucus in DSOC, explained that the Soviet threat to Poland would disappear as soon as the U.S. removed its occupying forces from Western Europe.

Need we say more about why you should send in your pledge today?!